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A SKETCH *of the* POLITICAL STATE *of* AMERICA.

NUMBER III.

AMONG the causes of a domestic nature, to which we can attribute our late unhappy situation, may be placed those ill-judged, impolitic commercial connections, and speculations in this country, consequent upon the peace, and none perhaps may be esteemed more pernicious to us, than our large importations of British luxuries, while we were prohibited to pay for them in any staples of our country; and little else than specie, which we most wanted at home, was suffered to be taken in return: For though the exportation of our Tobacco, in the first instance, promised a good freight, yet this, from a variety of causes, was soon found injurious, and in many instances, destructive to those who were largely concerned in it—to which the discouragement, arising from the high duties imposed by the British goverment, and the exorbitant commissions charged by their merchants, may be ascribed as efficient causes—while the narrow channel, through which it could be introduced into France, has never held out a sufficient inducement to the adventurer. Other evils which we have experienced may be said to have arose from too licentious notions of liberty, which the early policy of the day might have given rise to, as it would not have been prudent to inform the people they were contending only for a change of rulers—but absolute freedom, without restraint, was held out as the palm of victory: Thus the publick at large were led to confound the ideas of natural and political, or civil liberty—and by experience only, could be taught the essential difference. The same policy as above referred to, carried into the principles of taxation, may be viewed as another ground of our misfortunes, as government withholding for so long a time, in the early stage of the war, to raise any revenue by taxes, the community were led to suppose all future impositions of the kind as not arising from necessity, and to answer the exigencies of Government, but as the arbitrary mandates of their rulers, for their own power and aggrandizement—and even those who knew it to be the price of our liberty, were almost induced to relinquish an object so dear in its purchase.

The floods of unfunded paper money, issued as a substitute for taxation, gave every opportunity to the knavish and ill-minded part of the community, to cheat and defraud their neighbours, and all under the sanction of solemn acts of Legislative authority; and eventually a greater part of this ideal money sunk worthless in the hands of those who were best able to bear it—and without any prospect of redress: But during its currency, many people deferred calling for those dues which they knew no way of justly obtaining; but after the channels of justice were once more opened without any barrier, those of this class, some from motives of resentment, and others from real necessity, almost universally commenced their suits for those ballances, which were by this time grown more burthensome by an accumulated interest; and perhaps the effects of those habits upon our future intercourse with each other, which were impressed by a long conversance in large sums, may not be placed among the least injurious consequences from the use of paper money. I venture to rank them among the greatest, as fixed habits are not readily removed, and a certain association of ideas will frequently remain in the mind after the cause which produced them has ceased to exist.

AMERICANUS.

(To be continued.)

COMMERCE.

Further extracts from the "AMERICAN ESSAYS.'

"Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
"Tendimus."——— VIRG.

MULTIFARIOUS have been the speeches and publications upon the *now* visionary schemes of a rigid national economy, and *republican virtue*. Amusing pictures! But where are the originals! Painful retrospect! Blended—alas—with the diluvian wreck! And only serve to throw a melancholy gloom over all future prospects. The opinions, and habits of mankind, are perpetually changing, and therefore preclude all rational hopes of success, in the endeavors to apply the most approved practices and manners of ancient times to the present day.

It is true we are in our infant state, politically considered; but morally considered, we are by no means infants; we are beyond that period of flexible docility; we may be said to be at least initiated, if we are not adepts, in all the arts, refinements, habits, luxuries, extravagancies, follies, vices, and wants, of the oldest and most corrupt monarchies: Rome boasted her CINCINNATUS, and America can boast her CINCINNATI, a society, chiefly composed of military patriots, who may, with propiety, be said to be *followers*, tho' perhaps not all scrupulous *imitators* of their ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSOR.

Agriculture, arts, manufactures, and industry, are promising presages of future greatness; but if these are not attainable, without a rigid adherence to that simplicity of manners, which is said to have characterised those great and virtuous patriots of Greece and Rome, who have been so often held up as our great exemplers, I fear we may never expect to see them flourish in America.

When the great and important question of *national revenue* is agitating in the grand councils of the nation, it will be found necessary to recur to every probable source, and to contrive to give all possible encouragement and efficiency to each; this will naturally lead to the consideration of the importance of a *free, well regulated, and extensive commerce*, which upon the most accurate and profound investigation, of its various productive influence, and effects, *will discover*, what at this day, chiefly gives vigor, life, and energy to the husbandman, mechanic, manufacturer, and laborer; and from whence modern states principally derive the necessary resources for the support of government: In the solemn, national deliberations, upon this deep, this wide, this *immeasurable* subject, it will probably be found necessary, with our political, to unite the best commercial knowledge, and experience, that can be collected in America.

"Est laudatissimus, qui per se cuncta videbit;"
"Sed laudandus et Is, qui paret recta monenti."

The present exhausted state of our public and private finances, and the consequent want of means to supply the exigencies, and support the credit and dignity of government, are universally bruited, acknowledged, felt and deplored: The general decay of trade may doubtless be considered one of the principal causes, as also of the ruinous migration of our citizens from the sea ports into the remote interior country, and even *into the British, and other foreign dominions*.

The French merchants have made several attempts to carry on the whale fishery from Dunkirk, and although the King of France had furnished them with large sums of money upon the very advantageous terms of giving all the profits of that trade to the merchants, with the use of the money without interest, and sustaining all the loss of unsuccessful voyages, yet their fishery never succeeded, until Americans, principally from the State of Massachusetts, were induced by the very great encouragement offered by the merchants in Dunkirk, and the want of employ at home, to enter into their service, since which, the French government has prohibited the free importation of whale oil from foreign dominions. The English owe also their success in the whale fishery chiefly to Americans; for notwithstanding the immense bounties paid by the British government for its encouragement, they could never succeed until they employed Americans, who are also very well paid and greatly encouraged in their service.

The destructive influence of a declining commerce acts like a gangrene, which unless timely checked will soon spread over the whole body, and become incurable: Every lover of his country will therefore be solicitous to find out some speedy remedy for this alarming evil: *There are no possible adequate substitutes for the loss of commerce*: Our first grand object therefore is *its restoration*. I presume not to dictate or direct, it is a subject that will require the deepest deliberations and researches of the wisest and most experienced men in America fully to comprehend: It probably belongs to no one man existing, to possess *all* the qualifications requisite to trace the course of American commerce through all her numerous, intricate and yet untroden paths; and to point out those, and only those, that shall lead the United States to future glory and prosperity. I am sanguine in the belief of the possibility, that we may one day become a great, commercial, and flourishing nation; but if in pursuit of the means, we should unfortunately stumble again on *unfunded paper money*, or any similar species of *fraud*, we shall assuredly give a fatal stab to our national credit in its infancy, and blast the success of the best concerted plans: Palliatives at best are poor pitiful expedients, and never to be applied, but in the most desperate, or *incurable* causes. *Paper money* will invariably operate in the body politic, as spiritous liquors on the human body, which often produce a momentary relief, or giddy joy, *the effects of a delirium*; but while they intoxicate the brain, and lull the senses, they prey upon the vitals, *and ultimately destroy the constitution*: "But while a nation can preserve its credit at home, and abroad, there are "no difficulties to be deemed insurmountable." "Loaded with an enormous debt beyond the possibility of payment, and which would annihilate the credit of any other nation on the globe, and burthened with taxes which her *commerce* alone enables her to support; *Great Britain*, from her uniform sacred regard to all her pecuniary obligations, and transactions, foreign and domestic; and her constant punctual discharge of the interest of all loans; though just emerged from a long, expensive, unsuccessful war, now stands, commercially considered, the unrivalled mistress of the world: Her revenues are immense; her credit at home and abroad unbounded; her funds the great reservoir of the treasures of the globe; the bank of England full and runing over; ships openly, or disguisedly, but really owned by British subjects, swarming and evidently taking the lead in commerce of every other nation in all the parts of *Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in America*; openly monopolizing the trade in the few sea ports of *Austrian Flanders*, secretly possessing a large share in every lucrative branch of the *French* trade, particularly their African trade; draining *Portugal* and her *Colonies* in the east and west; leaving *Spain* but little to boast of all those precious *Mexican* and *Peruvian* harvests drawn from the bowels, or the bosom of her prolific earth; profiting greatly in her commercial intercourse with almost every other nation; and wisely jealous and tenacious of the exclusive possession of all the benefits arising from the trade with her own colonies.

Thus, *the little island of Britain*, maintains the right and glory of being considered, *and acknowledged* the *great Emporium of the world*. Yet such is the present state of corruption, dissipation, extravagance, and immense expence of that nation in every department, there are only wanted the united, well directed exertions of the *American States*, with industry, and their wonted activity and enteprize, soon to lop off many of the most valuable branches of their trade; it is well known that "the difference of three or four per cent. will carry the trade of the world." E. C.

NEW-YORK.

PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

TUESDAY, 28th APRIL, 1789.

DEBATE *upon the* IMPOST *on* MOLASSES *continued.*

Mr. MADISON, after an exordium, observed, This duty, it is said, will operate against a beneficial branch of commerce, carried on with our allies; but what was the state of facts previous to the revolution? This trade supported itself, notwithstanding the article of molasses was then subject to a duty, and foreign rum was imported duty free: Now, there is a heavy duty on rum, and yet this article, it is contended can not bear a tax—if the manufacture of rum was in a flourishing condition, when it had to combat a duty, and the influx of foreign spirits, it appears absurd to suppose, that the proposed duty, will annihilate the trade. There is a duty upon country rum, through the States, yet the trade is not destroyed; and if this duty is assessed on molasses, it is evident from these facts that the importation will not be diminished. It is considered by gentlemen as a necessary article of life—if this is granted, it must also be allowed, that a great proportion is consumed through the States—and where molasses is not used, it is more than balanced by Sugar—as that pays a higher duty.

It has been said, that this duty will be burthensome, as it will oblige the merchants to encrease their capitals—but this objection applies to other branches, and must be submitted to, or we must relinquish the idea of a revenue. The complaint respecting the fishermen appears ill founded, as no draw back is now allowed on the duty paid on rum consumed by them. The objection urged against the tax on account of smuggling (from the bulk and weight of this article), can not be considered as formidable. Mr. Madison was opposed to the substitute mentioned, an excise at the distill head, at present.

There was, he observed, an excise already upon rum in the States; but molasses, he believed, was free—and if a duty was now laid upon the latter, he had no doubt of an encrease in the sale of rum. Should this article be struck out of the report, it would be sacrificing the interest of three millions of people to support the interest of the distillers. This duty will not bear harder on the eastern than other exactions will on the southern States—he was therefore against a diminution of the six cents, or striking out the article.

Mr. AMES observed, that the Constitution under which this House was now deliberating was the result of commercial necessity—that from the opinion he had formed, and from the evidence he

had received, he had been led to ſuppoſe that the ſentiments of that houſe perfectly correſponded with the ideas of their conſtituents, that to revive, protect and encourage the commerce, navigation, agriculture, and manufactures of the Union, were among the great objects for which the Conſtitution had been adopted.—The fiſhery he obſerved, was one of the moſt important among thoſe objects—Gentlemen on all hands, realized this truth—Of all the various branches of buſineſs carried on in the United States, none perhaps had ſuffered more than the fiſheries—ſhut out from the Engliſh ports entirely, and admitted into thoſe of our allies upon ſevere reſtrictions, this moſt beneficial buſineſs had rapidly declined—was daily growing worſe, and if loaded with additional burthens would be totally deſtroyed—this buſineſs employed 26,000 tons of ſhipping, and a great number of the poorer, though important part of the community, and was a nurſery for ſeamen, which it had been the policy of the wiſeſt nations to cheriſh and encourage—theſe veſſels made four fairs annually, and took upon an average upwards of 400,000 quintals of fiſh—the greateſt part of the fiſh could be ſold in no other market but the Weſt-Indies, and there molaſſes was the only returns that could be obtained; this molaſſes was conſumed in its original ſtate in great quantities by the fiſhermen. The exportation of the fiſh employed nearly as much ſhiping as was engaged in taking it, ſeveral important mechanical branches depended upon, and were inſeparably connected with this particular buſineſs—If a doubt therefore could be raiſed upon the expediency of adopting a meaſure, that might eſſentially injure an intereſt ſo extenſive, gentlemen could not think of being tenacious of ſuch a meaſure. Mr. Ames thought he could raiſe ſuch a doubt.—The Honorable Gentleman from Viginia had aſked, how it was to be accounted for, that this buſineſs ſhould be able to ſupport itſelf before the revolution, when molaſſes paid a duty and foreign rum was free? To this Mr. Ames replied, that previous to the war, the buſineſs was carried on under a variety of advantages, which it was now deprived of, that the beſt markets were entirely cut off—Newfoundland, Quebeck, thoſe great marts we were excluded from.—He adduced a variety of other reaſons why the preſent ſtate of the buſineſs, would bear no compariſon with its former ſituation, and then added, that to other preſent embarraſments, it was to be apprehended, that we might ſhortly be deprived of the only market left us for the principle part of our fiſh—as the merchants at L'Orient had repreſented to government, that it would be for the intereſt of their colonies to diſtill their molaſſes in the Iſlands, and that upon the ſtrength of this idea, diſtill houſes were erecting in thoſe Iſlands. It had been objected, that encouraging the manufacture of country rum would diminiſh the revenue by leſſening the conſumption of foreign ſpirits—to this Mr. Ames replied, that he was happy to find that the Hon. Gentleman from Virginia, upon the uſe of brandy, furniſhed a full anſwer to this objection, and that was, that although brandy had paid no duty there, and Jamaica ſpirits an high one, yet the uſe of brandy did not encreaſe, and the importation bore no proportion to Weſt-India ſpirits—the truth was, the conſumption of that country rum was not faſhionable, and therefore would never be extenſive, it was conſidered as noxious—it was offenſive, and it was diſreputable to uſe it—much had been ſaid againſt the uſe of ſpiritous liquors—Mr. Ames was in ſentiment with thoſe oppoſed to their conſumption—but at the preſent moment, gentlemen did not mean to take up the ſubject in a moral point of view—revenue was the great object now before them, and as it reſpected that, he conceived, the duty on an article which would amount to a prohibition, attended with the diſagreeable conſequences pointed out, muſt be impolitic. Mr. Ames next proceeded to conſider the article of molaſſes as a neceſſary of life—neceſſaries he defined, ſuch articles as are found ſalutary, and enter into the daily and common ſuſtenance of all ranks, and more eſpecially of the poorer claſſes of citizens—Some kind of ſweetening was univerſally allowed to be of this deſcription—Molaſſes therefore from its wholeſome qualities, and its cheapneſs, was uſed very extenſively by the people of the New-England States—it was uſed not merely as ſugar, but entered into their food in a variety of ways—and was their only ſubſtitute for malt in the making of beer—the articles uſed in brewing at the ſouthward were exempted from duty, and he conceived no good reaſon could be aſſigned, why a difference ſhould be made between the common drink, of one part of the continent and that of another. This duty would operate as a very partial tax, in as much as in addition to it, the eaſtern States paid their full proportion upon all other articles.

From the foregoing obſervations, Mr. Ames concluded, that as the navigation of the Union, and more eſpecially the eaſtern fiſheries, would be ſo materially affected and injured by this partial duty—as it was an object of importance to encourage extenſive manufactures—as it could not poſſibly enter in the views of the Houſe to tax, heavily tax, the neceſſaries of life—as this duty was ſo over-proportioned to the reſt of the ſyſtem—he was diciedly oppoſed to the ſum of ſix cents per gallon on molaſſes—he mentioned one cent, or that it ſhould be included in non enumerated articles.

Mr. SYLVESTER obſerved, he thought that the Houſe was ripe for a deciſion—gentlemen differed ſo widely, that he deſpaired of getting better information—he was therefore in favor of, and would propoſe a medium duty to ſave time.

Mr. MADISON ſtill advocated the duty, and as he ſuppoſed it a reaſonable one, he wiſhed that it might now be fixed, as gentlemen muſt be ſenſible that variations in the revenue laws would be ſacrificing our beſt friends—Mr. Madiſon obſerved, that the exports from Maſſachuſetts were not one third ſo much as thoſe from Virginia, and that conſequently her imports were proportionably greater, and her burthen of taxes enhanced: He further obſerved, that he conſidered that the poor of one ſtate was upon a par with thoſe of another, and therefore could not ſee the propriety of any diſtinction's being made.

Mr. FITZSIMONS was oppoſed to any diminution. The duty, he obſerved, would not fall on the manufacturer, but on the conſumer of the article; and as more than 1000000 gallons of rum would be exported, on which a drawback would be allowed, he could not think the duty would fall ſo heavy: He obſerved, that the preſent trade was greater than it was before the war: That there could be no revenue without taxing neceſſaries: The tax on fiſhermen for this article, would not be more than 3-4th of a dollar pr. annum; and he conceived it was local to oppoſe it.

Mr. GOODHUE obſerved, That the duty on Molaſſes had been paſſed over, to give gentlemen time, who expected information on the ſubject from their conſtituents at the eaſtward; but the poſt on Saturday had not brought any diſpatches on the ſubject. He would therefore, he obſerved, endeavour to give the Houſe all the information upon the ſubject, at preſent in his poſſeſſion: Molaſſes, Sir, is the production almoſt altogether of the French Weſt-India Iſlands; and is purchaſed chiefly for fiſh and lumber. The fiſh which is exchanged for it, is of ſo inferior a quality, by reaſon of being caught and cured in the hotteſt of the ſeaſon, that none but the negroes of thoſe iſlands can be induced to make uſe of it.

We are reſtricted by the French from taking any production in exchange for our commodities from thoſe Iſlands but this article, the rum made from it, and ſalt. The only reaſon for allowing us to vend our fiſh there is, to take off their ſuperfluous articles—their policy having prohibited the importation of molaſſes and rum into the mother country, leſt it ſhould interfere with their wines and brandies: From theſe facts, it is evident, that the fiſhery reſts on the molaſſes buſineſs. They ſtand, or fall together.

But, Mr. Speaker, molaſſes is a neceſſary of life, when uſed in ſubſtance, particularly ſo to the poorer claſs of the people in the eaſtern States, who uſe it inſtead of ſugar: the duty of 6 cents is 30 pr. cent. on its value—equal to the duty on rum, and double to that on ſugar: even luxuries are not taxed ſo high. Maſſachuſetts imports 3000000 gallons of molaſſes, annually, which at 6 cents, would be 180000 dollars; more than Pennſylvania pays on rum and ſugar together. This article has never been rated high by any of the ſtates: a plain proof that the ſenſe of the people is not in favour of ſo exorbitant a duty. We ought to be circumſpect in the buſineſs before us; nor give juſt cauſe of uneaſineſs to our conſtituents; eſpecially at the commencement of the Conſtitution: for though I would not venture to ſay, that Maſſachuſetts would not be as quieſcent and ſubmiſſive to every meaſure of Congreſs, as any ſtate in the union, yet I muſt ſay, that they will conſider this duty, or any thing near it, as injurious to their trade, fiſheries and manufactures, and contrary to the principles of juſtice, or national policy. It has been ſaid, that Maſſachuſetts ought not to complain, as the amount of her imports are not more than one third the amount of thoſe in Virginia; but the gentleman has brought no evidence to prove it: I can ſay, Sir, and I believe upon good grounds, that ſhe imports quite as much. This duty is compared to the duty on ſhoes, and candles; but Sir, one cargo of molaſſes would pay as much at 6 cents duty, as the whole quantity of candles probably imported into Virginia in a year. I beg leave to add one more obſervation—it is, that the Britiſh Parliament impoſed, at one time, 3 pence ſterl. a gallon on molaſſes—Not one farthing of duty was collected, while it continued ſo high, ſo odious was it to all ranks of people; and they were compelled to lower it to 1 penny.—I hope we ſhall learn wiſdom from the example.

Mr. GERRY obſerved, that he was in favor of a revenue by impoſt, except on neceſſaries, and raw materials, becauſe on all other articles it may be conſidered as a voluntary tax, for the perſon who was finally to pay it, had it in his power to avoid the tax, by not conſuming the articles dutied; but it muſt be admitted, that impoſts were burthenſome on commerce, as the importer muſt advance the duty, and that being uſually raiſed from ſome of the dutied articles, would oblige him to force a ſale to a loſs: It muſt alſo be admitted, that he would be ſubject to bad debts, and that the impoſts thereon would be his loſs. It was therefore neceſſary to be judicious in chooſing the articles, and in determining the quantity of impoſt, for it might otherwiſe deſtroy the ſource of this revenue. The precaution he thought had not been taken, in duTying molaſſes: The trade itſelf was in Maſſachuſetts at a low ebb, and could hardly be ſupported. Should a duty of 6 cents pr. gallon be now levied a cargo and outfits, of 1000l. lawful, which would procure about 22,000 gallons of molaſſes, would pay 396l. duties, being nearly 40 pr. cent. on the capital: In addition to the premium of inſurance, and ſailors wages, which muſt always be paid on the arrival of the veſſel, the merchant muſt now raiſe money to pay the impoſt, which would greatly diſtreſs him in the preſent ſcarcity of ſpecie—inſer on him a conſiderable loſs, and diſcourage the trade: and the evil would not terminate here; for a large quantity of this article was conſumed by the poor of the ſeaports, who to ſubſiſt themſelves and their families, were under the neceſſity of qualifying with it their indian meal, and other articles, not being able to procure flour or meal, and they uſed it with water, and in their beer, which being generally made of ſpruce, or hops, would be otherwiſe too unpalatable for uſe. There were no breweries, he ſaid, in that part of the continent; and this he conſidered as a misfortune, but by no means a ſufficient reaſon for thus taxing the poor. If a propoſition ſhould be made for laying a duty on the ordinary beer uſed by the poor of other States; or if beef and pork could not be procured among ourſelves in ſufficient quantities, and it ſhould be propoſed to lay an impoſt on thoſe articles, would not gentlemen, from all quarters, conſider it as oppreſſive—ſurely they would—and it muſt be ſo conſidered in the preſent caſe—for molaſſes was a neceſſary ingredient of the food and drink of the pooreſt people of ſome of the ſtates; and the loading this article with ſo high a duty, would ſo raiſe its price, as to leſſen the conſumption, and thus be an additional diſcouragement to the trade; but the evil would be ſtill more extenſive. The diſtillers now purchaſed molaſſes in the Eaſtern ſtates, free of duty, and an impoſt of 6 cents pr. gallon, would raiſe it 30 pr. cent. and render it neceſſary for diſtillers to have capitals proportionably larger, or to manufacture leſs rum. This circumſtance, and the deciſion of the Houſe not to allow a debenture on rum exported, will leſſen the demand of molaſſes for diſtilling, and prove a further diſcouragement to the trade: true it is that rum is injurious to our citizens, but the eſtabliſhment of diſtilleries, as well as the importation of rum, has had the ſanction of our laws, and therefore the diſtillers are not chargeable with the evil. If it is neceſſary at once to deſtroy theſe manufactories, the proprietors ought in juſtice to be reimburſed the coſt thereof by the public; but if the article is ſtill to be in uſe amongſt us, ſhould not good policy induce us to give a preferrence to our own manufactures? It muſt then be evident this duty, by diſcouraging, will greatly leſſen the molaſſes trade, and with it the demand for fiſh, which is exported for the purchaſe of that article. The fiſhery is already diſtreſſed, by the reſtrictions and impoſitions of the nations who are endeavoring to rival us, and who apply as a bounty on their own fiſh, the duties impoſed on ours; and if the demand ſhould ceaſe for a conſiderable part of our fiſh, which can only be carried to the Weſt-India markets: This important branch can no longer be ſupported: This duty moreover would take from every fiſherman, who with his family, will conſume about 30 gallons of molaſſes a year, about two dollars, which will in effect operate as a poll tax: Already have propoſitions been made to ſome of our merchants in that branch, to remove to Nova Scotia—and ſuch diſcouragements would promote the emigration of our fiſhermen: The loſs of the fiſhery would extend itſelf to ſhipbuilding, there being at leaſt 27,000 tons of ſhipping employed in taking, and half as much more in carrying to market that article: The ſhip-builders therefore, and the numerous mechanics dependent on ſhipping, would be immediately affected by this duty; and it would extend itſelf through the whole ſyſtem of the eaſtern commerce: The inequality of this duty is evident by comparing it with the impoſt on ſugar, which is only one ſixth of its value, whilſt that on molaſſes is one third, and ſugar is a luxury, whilſt molaſſes is not. If the full force of theſe objections ſhould not be admitted, no one can deny, that there will be a riſk in adopting the meaſure propoſed: And are we not hazarding the diſaffection of the numerous citizens concerned in the molaſſes trade, fiſhery, diſtilleries and ſhip-building, who warmly advocated, and expected benefit from the conſtitution; when the impoſt propoſed will defeat itſelf, ſurely it can never be good policy to lay the duty ſo high, as to exceed the riſk of ſmuggling. If the riſk is 5 pr. cent. and the duty 40 pr. cent. there can be no doubt that the merchant will ſmuggle the molaſſes, more eſpecially as he will conſider himſelf oppreſſed, and will be compelled to do this, or to give up the trade; and if we multiply revenue officers, till they eat up the revenue, they will not be able to prevent the meaſure: It muſt appear then, that if in lieu of this high duty, we impoſe a moderate exciſe on rum, or a ſmall impoſt on molaſſes, we ſhall not only avoid the injuries which will otherwiſe extend to our commerce, but ſhall alſo greatly increaſe the revenue itſelf: He therefore moved that the words "on molaſſes 6 cents" ſhould be ſtruck out.

[*Several other gentlemen ſpake upon both ſides of this queſtion; but our limits will not admit of inſerting their obſervations.*]

The queſtion being taken, the duty was continued at 6 cents.

Mr. SHERMAN moved, that card wire be added to the articles exempted from Impoſt—which was acceded to.

The Houſe having proceeded through the remainder of the report (except the duty on tonnage, which was poſtponed) appointed Mr. CLYMER, Mr. WHITE, and Mr. BALDWIN, a committee, to draft and report a bill.

A reſolution of the Senate was then read, purporting that they had appointed Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. IZARD, and Mr. MACLAY a committee, to determine and report, reſpecting the papers in the late Secretary's office. The Houſe concurred, and appointed Mr. TRUMBULL, Mr. CADWALLADER, and Mr. JACKSON, to join the committee of the Senate.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29.

A letter from MATTHIAS OGDEN, Eſq. of New-Jerſey, addreſſed to the Speaker, incloſing a petition and remonſtrance of a number of citizens of New-Jerſey, alledging, that certain irregularities had prevailed at their late election, and that undue means has been uſed to bias the voters; alſo complaining of the return made by the Governor, was read, together with the petition, and committed to the committee of elections.

The Houſe took up the conſideration of the reſolution of the Senate for attending divine ſervice, in St. Paul's church, immediately after the oath is adminiſtered to the Preſident, and concurred therewith.

A committee was appointed to prepare an eſtimate of the probable amount of the revenue on impoſt, agreeably to the duties lately agreed to; and to procure an eſtimate of the public debt.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1789.

The Speech of the Preſident, to the two Houſes of Congreſs yeſterday, was read, and referred to a committee of the whole Houſe.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee, and Mr. PAGE took the chair.

Mr. MADISON then introduced a reſolution to the following effect, viz.

Reſolved, as the opinion of this committee, that a ſelect committee of the Houſe be appointed, to prepare an addreſs to the Preſident, congratulating him on his appointment to the office of Preſident of theſe States by the unanimous voice of his countrymen—expreſſing the approbation of the Houſe of the liberal and patriotic ſentiments, contained in his ſpeech, and their concurrence in every plan which he has or may propoſe, to ſecure the liberties, promote the harmony, and advance the happineſs and proſperity of their country.—This reſolution being adopted, the committee was diſſolved, and the Speaker reſumed the chair—when the following gentlemen were elected a committee, agreeably to the reſolve—Mr. MADISON, Mr. CLYMER, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. BENSON, Mr. GALE.

A propoſition for the appointment of a committee, to take into conſideration, what compenſation ſhall be made to the Preſident for his ſervices, was after ſome converſation referred to a committee of the whole upon the ſtate of the Union.

Upon motion of Mr. SHERMAN, to take up the order of the day—it was voted to come to the choie of a Chaplain—the ballots being collected—the Reverend Mr. LINN was choſen.

Adjourned until Monday.

NEW-YORK, MAY 2.

On Thurſday laſt, agreeably to the reſolution of both Houſes of Congreſs, the inauguration of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES was ſolemnized.

At nine o'clock, A. M. the people aſſembled in the ſeveral churches, with the Clergy of the reſpective denominations, to implore the bleſſing of Heaven upon the new governemt, its favor and protection to the PRESIDENT, and ſucceſs and acceptance to his adminiſtration.

About twelve o'clock the proceſſion moved from the Houſe of the Preſident, in Cherry-Street—through Queen, Great Dock and Broad Sreets, to the Federal State Houſe, in the following order:

Col. LEWIS,
Attended by two Officers.
Capt. STAKES,
With the Troop of Horſe.
Artillery.
Major VAN HORNE.
Grenadiers, under Capt. HARSIN,
German Grenadiers, under Capt. SCRIBA.
Major BICKER.
The Infantry of the Brigade.
Major CHRYSTIE.
Sheriff.
Committee of the Senate.

Civil Officers. { Aſſiſtants. } PRESIDENT. His Suite. { Aſſiſtants. } Civil Officers.

Committee of the Repreſentatives.
Hon. Mr. JAY.
Gen. KNOX.
Chancellor LIVINGSTON,
Several gentlemen of diſtinction.

When within a proper diſtance of the State-Houſe, the troops formed a line on both ſides of the way, THE PRESIDENT paſſing through, was conducted into the Senate Chamber, and introduced to both Houſes of Congreſs.

Immediately after, accompanied by the two Houſes, he was conducted into the Gallery adjoining the Senate Chamber, and fronting Broad-Street, where, in the preſence of an immenſe concourſe of citizens, the Oath, preſcribed by the Conſtitution, was adminiſtered to him by the Hon. R. R. LIVINGSTON, Eſq. Chancellor of the State of New-York.

The Chancellor then proclaimed him THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, which was followed by the inſtant diſcharge of 13 cannon, and loud repeated ſhouts: THE PRESIDENT bowing to the people, the air again rang with their acclamations: He then retired with the two Houſes to the Senate Chamber, where he made the following SPEECH.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE,
AND OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

AMONG the viciſſitudes incident to life, no event could have filled me with greater anxieties, than that of which the notification was tranſmitted by your order, and received on the 14th day of the preſent month.—On the one hand, I was ſummoned by my country, whoſe voice I can never hear but with veneration and love, from a retreat which I had choſen with the fondeſt predilection, and in my flattering hopes, with an immutable deciſion, as the aſylum of my declining years; a retreat which was rendered every day more neceſſary as well as more dear to me, by the addition of habit to inclination, and of frequent interruptions in my health to the gradual waſte committed on it by time. On the other hand, the magnitude and difficulty of the truſt to which the voice of my country called me, being ſufficient to awaken in the wiſeſt and moſt experienced of her citizens, a diſtruſtful ſcrutiny into his qualifications, could not but overwhelm with deſpondence, one, who, inheriting inferior endowments from nature, and unpractiſed in the duties of civil adminiſtration, ought to be peculiarly conſcious of his own deficiencies. In this conflict of emotions, all I dare aver, is, that it has been my faithful ſtudy to collect my duty from a juſt appreciation of every circumſtance, by which it might be affected. All I dare hope, is, that, if in executing this taſk, I have been too much ſwayed by a grateful remembrance of former inſtances, or by an affectionate ſenſibility to this tranſcendant proof of the confidence of my fellow citizens; and have thence too little conſulted my incapacity as well as diſinclination, for the weighty and untried cares before me; my *error* will be palliated by the motives which miſled me, and its conſequences be judged by my country, with ſome ſhare of the partiality in which they originated.

Such being the impreſſions under which I have, in obedience to the public ſummons, repaired to the preſent ſtation; it would be peculiarly improper to omit in this firſt official act, my fervent ſupplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the univerſe; who preſides in the councils of nations, and whoſe providential aids can ſupply every human defect, that his benediction may conſecrate to the liberties and happineſs of the people of the United States, a government inſtituted by themſelves for theſe eſſential purpoſes; and may enable every inſtrument employed in its adminiſtration, to execute with ſucceſs, the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the great author of every public and private good, I aſſure myſelf that it expreſſes your ſentiments not leſs than my own; nor thoſe of my fellow citizens at large, leſs than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the inviſible hand, which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every ſtep by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation, ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by ſome token of providential agency. And in the important revolution juſt accompliſhed in the ſyſtem of their united government, the tranquil deliberations, and voluntary conſent of ſo many diſtinct communities, from which the event has reſulted, cannot be compared with the means by which moſt governments have been eſtabliſhed, without ſome return of pious gratitude along with an humble anticipation of the future bleſſings which the paſt ſeem to preſage. Theſe reflections ariſing out of the preſent criſis, have forced themſelves too ſtrongly on my mind to be ſuppreſſed. You will join with me, I truſt, in thinking, that there are none under the influence of which, the proceedings of a new and free government can more auſpiciouſly commence.

By the article eſtabliſhing the executive department, it is made the duty of the Preſident to "recommend to your conſideration, ſuch meaſures as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient." The circumſtances under which I now meet you, will acquit me from entering into that ſubject, farther than to refer to the great conſtitutional charter under which you are aſſembled, and which, in defining your powers, deſignates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more conſiſtent with thoſe circumſtances, and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to ſubſtitute, in place of a recommendation of particular meaſures, the tribute that is due to the talents, the rectitude, and the patriotiſm which adorn the characters ſelected to deviſe and adopt them. In thoſe honorable qualifications, I behold the ſureſt pledges, that as on one ſide no local prejudices, or attachments—no ſeparate views, no party animoſities, will miſdirect the comprehenſive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great aſſemblage of communities and intereſts; ſo, on the other, that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality; and the pre-eminence of free government, be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens, and command the reſpect of the world—I dwell on this proſpect with every ſatisfaction which an ardent love of my country can inſpire. Since there is no truth more thoroughly eſtabliſhed, than that there exiſts in the œconomy and courſe of nature, an indiſſoluble union between virtue and happineſs; between duty and advantage, between genuine maxims of an honeſt and magnanimous policy, and the ſolid rewards of public proſperity and felicity. Since we ought to be no leſs perſuaded that the propitious ſmiles of heaven, can never be expected on a nation that diſregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itſelf has ordained. And ſince the preſervation of the ſacred fire of liberty, and the deſtiny of the republican model of government, are juſtly conſidered as *deeply*, perhaps as *finally* ſtaked on the experiment entruſted to the hands of the American people.

Beſides the ordinary objects ſubmitted to your care, it will remain with your judgment to decide, how far an exerciſe of the occaſional power delegated by the fifth article of the conſtitution is rendered expedient at the preſent juncture by the nature of objections which have been urged againſt the ſyſtem, or by the degree of inquietude which has given birth to them.

Inſtead of undertaking particular recommendations on this ſubject, in which I could be guided by no lights derived from official opportunities, I ſhall again give way to my entire confidence in your diſcernment and purſuit of the public good.

For I aſſure myſelf that whilſt you carefully avoid every alteration which might endanger the beneſits of an united and effective government, or which ought to await the future leſſon of experience; a reverence for the characteriſtic rights of freemen, and a regard for the public harmony, will ſufficiently influence your deliberations on the queſtion how far the former can be more impregnably fortified, or the latter be ſafely and advantageouſly promoted.

To the preceding obſervations I have one to add, which will be moſt properly addreſſed to the houſe of repreſentatives, it concerns myſelf, and will therefore be as brief as poſſible.

When I was firſt honoured with a call into the ſervice of my country, then on the eve of an arduous ſtruggle for its liberties, the light in which I contemplated my duty required that I ſhould renounce every pecuniary compenſation. From this reſolution I have in no inſtance departed. And being ſtill under the impreſſions which produced it, I muſt decline as inapplicable to myſelf, any ſhare in the perſonal emoluments, which may be indiſpenſably concluded in a permanent proviſion for the executive department; and muſt accordingly pray, that the pecuniary eſtimates for the ſtation in which I am placed, may, during my continuance in it, be limited to ſuch actual expenditures as the public good may be thought to require.

Having thus imparted to you my ſentiments, as they have been awakened by the occaſion which brings us together—I ſhall take my preſent leave; but not without reſorting once more to the benign parent of the human race, in humble ſupplication, that ſince he has been pleaſed to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquility, and diſpoſitions for deciding with unparalleled unanimity on a form of government, for the ſecurity of their union, and the advancement of their happineſs; ſo his divine bleſſing may be equally *conſpicuous* in the enlarged views, the temperate conſultations, and the wiſe meaſures on which the ſucceſs of this government muſt depend.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Excellency the Vice-Preſident, the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and both Houſes of Congreſs, then went to St. Paul's Chapel, where divine ſervice was performed, by the Right Rev. Dr. PROVOST. Biſhop of the Epiſcopal Church in this State, and Chaplain to the Senate.

The religious ſolemnity being ended, the Preſident was eſcorted to his reſidence.

Yeſterday morning THE PRESIDENT received the compliments of His Excellency the Vice Preſident, His Excellency the Governor of this State; the principal Officers of the different Departments; the foreign Miniſters; and a great number of other perſons of diſtinction.

We are informed, that THE PRESIDENT has aſſigned every Tueſday and Friday, between the hours of two and three, for receiving viſits; and that viſits of compliment on other days, and particularly on Sundays, will not be agreeable to him.

It ſeems to be a prevailing opinion, that ſo much of THE PRESIDENT's time will be engaged by the various and important buſineſs, impoſed upon him by the Conſtitution, that he will find himſelf conſtrained to omit returning viſits, or accepting invitations to Entertainments.

The tranſparent paintings exhibited in various parts of the city, on Thurſday evening, were equal at leaſt, to any thing of the kind ever before ſeen in America.

That diſplayed before the Fort at the bottom of Broad-way, did great honor to its inventors and executors, for the ingenuity of the deſign, and goodneſs of the workmanſhip; it was finely lighted and advantageouſly ſituated: The virtues, FORTITUDE,* JUSTICE,† and WISDOM‡ were judiciouſly applied; of the firſt, all America has had the fulleſt evidence; and with reſpect to the two others, who does not entertain the moſt pleaſing anticipations.

* The PRESIDENT. † The SENATE. ‡ The REPRESENTATIVES of the United States.

His Excellency DON GARDOQUI's reſidence next caught the eye—and fixed it in pleaſing contemplation: The *Tout-en-ſemble* here, formed a moſt brilliant front; the figures well fancied, THE GRACES, ſuggeſted the beſt ideas; and the pleaſing variety of *emblems, flowers, ſhrubbery, arches*, &c. and above all the MOVING PICTURES, that figured in the windows, or as it were in the *back ground*, created by fixing the tranſparencies between the windows, afforded a new—an animated, and enchanting ſpectacle.

The reſidence of his Excellency, COUNT MOUSTIER, was illuminated in a ſtile of novel elegance; the ſplendid bordering of lamps round the windows, doors, &c. with the fancy pieces in each window; and above all the large deſigns in front, the alluſions, of which we cannot at preſent particulaly deſcribe, did great honor to the taſte and ſentiment of the inventor.

The above two inſtances of attention to honor this great and important occaſion, ſo highly intereſting to our "dear country," evince the friendſhip, the delicacy and politeneſs of our illuſtrious allies.

The portrait of "THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY" exhibited in Broad-Street, was extremely well executed, and had a fine effect.

There was an excellent Traſparency, alſo ſhewn at the Theatre, and at the corner, near the Fly-Market: In ſhort, emulation and ingenuity were alive; but perhaps were in no inſtance exhibited to greater advantage than in the diſplay of the Fire Works, which, from one novelty to another, continued for two hours, to ſurprize, by variety, taſte, and brilliancy.

The illumination of the Federal State Houſe, was among the moſt agreeable of the exhibitions of the evening; and the ſhip Carolina formed a beautiful pyramid of Stars:. The evening was fine—the company innumerable—every one appeared to enjoy the ſcene, and no accident caſts the ſmalleſt cloud upon the retroſpect.

ARRIVALS.

At the Port of New-York.

Wedneſday. Brig Minerva, Bell, Cape de Verds, 39 days.
Sloop Mary, Daun, St. John's.
Ann, Lyburn, Turks-Iſland, 15 days.
Friday. Sloop Peggy, Cahoone, Rhode-Iſland, 1 day.
Defiance, Drew, Baltimore.
Friendſhip, Savanna.

THE TABLET.

NUMBER VI.

"It is by no means fortune that rules the world; for this we may appeal to several nations, who have had a long series of prosperities, when they acted upon a certain plan; and an uninterupted course of misfortunes, when they conducted themselves upon another. There are general causes, natural or moral, which operate in every state; which raise, support or overturn it."

IT is the opinion of many philosophic men, that society has not seen its best days. Such an idea must not be considered as the rhapsody of an enthusiast, or the dream of a poet. The fatal declension of states may be rationally accounted for, without presupposing any essential propensity, in individuals or communities, to fall into excessive depravity. It strikes the view of even a careless observer, that no age or nation has exhibited a perfect specimen of a people, who have combined a full knowledge of the human character, with a thorough knowledge of the principles of government. In all periods of the world, there has been an astonishing deficiency in one of those respects, and very often in both. Morality has seldom been held in estimation as a science. Men of genius and leisure have too much employed their attention, upon those abstract sciences, which have no influence upon the happiness of society; or in framing systems of religious delusion, which are not calculated to promote the best interest of rational beings. The improvements of the *moral* faculty have not kept pace with the attainments of the *intellectual*. This important acquisition seems to have been reserved for the present, or some future age. It will be the result of a superior degree of knowledge, both with respect to men and government.

The human mind seems to be changing its course of thinking. Legislators know how to manage more skilfully the vices, the passions, and the weaknesses of men. They do not as formerly waste their time in lamenting, in unavailing complaints, the want of patriotism; which, according to the common application of the word, has been one of the most terrible scourges, that ever punished the wickedness or tormented the peace of society. When we look back to the history of nations, the most celebrated for this virtue, we should conclude from their conduct, that men were only born to make each other wretched. We will however shut our eyes against these horrid scenes of antiquity; and anticipate the period, when reason and philosophy shall bear some sway, in the management of human affairs. It will then begin to be known, that the human race were created for some other purpose, than to persecute and devour one another. Should that happy hour ever arrive, good men will wish, that for the honor of human nature, a veil might be forever thrown over past transactions.

"Warm from the heart—and true to all its fires."

The following ADDRESS was presented to his Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, soon after his departure from *Mount-Vernon*, on his journey to this city.

To GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQUIRE, PRESIDENT *of the* UNITED STATES, *&c. &c.*

AGAIN your country demands your care.—— Obedient to its wishes—unmindful of your own ease, we see you again relinquishing the bliss of retirement; and this too, at a period of life, when nature itself seems to authorise a preference of repose.

Not to extol your glory as a soldier: Not to pour forth our gratitude for past services: Not to acknowledge the justice of the unexampled honor which has been conferred upon you, by the spontaneous and unanimous suffrage of three millions of freemen, in your election to the Supreme Magistracy: Not to admire the patriotism which directs your conduct, do your Neighbours and Friends now address you.—Themes less splendid, but more endearing, impress our minds.—The first and best of citizens must leave us! Our Aged must lose their Ornament! Our Youth their Model! Our Agriculture its Improver! Our Commerce its Friend! Our infant Academy its Patron! Our Poor their Benefactor! And the interior Navigation of the Potomac, an event replete with the most extensive utility, already, by your unremitted exertions, brought into partial use—its Institutor and Promoter!

Farewell!—Go—and make a grateful people happy—a people, who will be doubly grateful, when they contemplate this recent sacrifice for their interest.

To that Being, who maketh and unmaketh at his will, we commend you; and, after the accomplishment of the arduous business to which you are called, may He restore to us again the best of Men, and the most beloved Fellow Citizen.

In behalf of the People of Alexandria,

DENNIS RAMSAY, Mayor.

April 16, 1789.

HIS EXCELLENCY'S ANSWER.

To the MAYOR, CORPORATION, *and* CITIZENS *of* ALEXANDRIA.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH I ought not conceal, yet I cannot describe, the painful emotions which I felt, in being called upon to determine whether I would accept, or refuse, the Presidency of the United States.

The unanimity in the choice—the opinion of my friends communicated from different parts of Europe, as well as America—the apparent wish of those who were not entirely satisfied with the Constitution in its present form, and an ardent desire, on my own part, to be instrumental in conciliating the good will of my countrymen towards each other, have induced an acceptance. Those who know me best (and you, my fellow-citizens, are, from your situation, in that number) know better than any others, my love of retirement is so great, that no earthly consideration, short of a conviction of duty, could have prevailed upon me to depart from my resolution, "never more to take any share in transactions of a public nature."

For, at my age, and in my circumstances, what possible advantages could I propose to myself, from embarking again on the tempestuous and uncertain ocean of public life?

I do not feel myself under the necessity of making public declarations, in order to convince you, Gentlemen, of my attachment to yourselves, and regard for your interests. The whole tenor of my life has been open to your inspection: And my past actions, rather than my present declarations, must be the pledge for my future conduct.

In the mean time, I thank you most sincerely for the expressions of kindness contained in your valedictory address. It is true, just after having bade adieu to my domestic connections, this tender proof of your friendship is but too well calculated still further to awaken my sensibility, and increase my regret, at parting from the enjoyments of private life.

All that now remains for me, is to commit myself and you, to the protection of that *beneficent Being*, who on a former occasion, hath happily bro't us together, after a long and distressing separation. Perhaps the same gracious *Providence* will again indulge us with the same heart felt felicity. But words, my Fellow Citizens, fail me. Unutterable sensations must then be left to more expressive silence, while, from an aching heart, I bid you all, my affectionate Friends, and kind Neighbours, farewell!

G. WASHINGTON.

NATIONAL MONITOR.

NUMBER II.

"No incidental events can make a nation *little*, while the principles remain, that made it *great*."

AS America is just setting out in her political course as a nation, it is of infinite importance to her future welfare, that her first principles should be drawn from the best sources—that they should bear the impressions of truth and right reason—These are superior guides to all the experience of ancient times—the force of precedent and power of example.

The revolution of America is not the effect of causes that have operated to produce those mighty changes, which have marked the fluctuating periods of other nations. Ambition, fraud, and violence—faction, ignorance, and accident, have at different intervals, boasted the power to overturn one kingdom, and erect and establish another; but the dismemberment of this Western Empire from the crown of Britain, was the result of sentiment—a laborious investigation of the principles of Liberty, and the Rights of Humanity: Information and wisdom marked the road—Justice and fortitude supported our foot-steps—and the favour of Heaven to our spirit, enterprise, and bravery, carried us triumphantly through.——Crowned with Peace, Liberty, and Independence, fairy land, *and* utopian prospects, *cheated our deluded imaginations, 'till we almost began to doubt the eligibility of our present situation, compared to our former one.—Happily for us and our posterity, ere the Demon of Anarchy had worked up the political follies of the day to a phrenzy, we were arrested in our career to ruin.—And* now, *what are our prospects? All that* wisdom, virtue, *and* patriotism, *can fancy or desire.*

Diversified in principles, manners, views and habits—Say, do we at this day feel the force of any of those maxims as a nation, which can make a people great? I think we do. It must be acnowledged, that a sense of the importance of Government, *to preserve life, liberty and property, appears to pervade the mind of the people through the Union. This is a proper foundation, upon which may be reared the pillars of* National Justice, National Happiness, *and* National Security: *This principle has produced wonderful effects already—and it is the broadest basis on which to erect national habits, manners and sentiments. A proper idea of the necessity and importance of a firm, efficient Government, is perhaps the strongest barrier to licentiousness, faction, and loss of freedom, that* Deity *itself can create: This is that principle for America, which will render her durably great and glorious.*

C.

PLAN

OF THE

GAZETTE of the UNITED STATES,

A NATIONAL PAPER.

To be published at the SEAT *of the* FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, *and to comprise, as fully as possible, the following Objects, viz.*

I. EARLY and authentick Accounts of the PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS—its LAWS, ACTS, and RESOLUTIONS, communicated so as to form an *HISTORY of the TRANSACTIONS of the FEDERAL LEGISLATURE, under the NEW CONSTITUTION.*

II. IMPARTIAL SKETCHES of the DEBATES of CONGRESS.

III. ESSAYS upon the great subjects of Government in general, and the *Federal Legislature in particular*; also upon the *national* and *local* Rights of the AMERICAN CITIZENS, as found'd upon the Federal or State Constitutions; also upon every other Subject, which may appear suitable for newspaper discussion.

IV. A SERIES of PARAGRAPHS, calculated to catch the "LIVING MANNERS AS THEY RISE," and to point the publick attention to Objects that have an important reference to *domestick, social*, and *publick happiness*.

V. The Interests of the United States as connected with their literary Institutions—religious and moral Objects—Improvements in Science, Arts, EDUCATION and HUMANITY—their foreign Treaties, Alliances, Connections, &c.

VI. Every *species* of INTELLIGENCE, which may affect the *commercial, agricultural, manufacturing*, or *political* INTERESTS of the AMERICAN REPUBLICK.

VII. A CHAIN of DOMESTICK OCCURRENCES, collected through the Medium of an extensive Correspondence with the respective States.

VIII. A SERIES of FOREIGN ARTICLES of INTELLIGENCE, so connected, *as to form a general Idea of publick Affairs in the eastern Hemisphere.*

IX. The STATE of the NATIONAL FUNDS; also of the INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS—Courses of Exchange—Prices Current, &c.

CONDITIONS.

I.

THE GAZETTE *of the* UNITED STATES *shall be printed with the same* Letter, *and on the same* Paper *as this publication.*

II.

It shall be published every WEDNESDAY *and* SATURDAY, *and delivered, as may be directed, to every Subscriber in the city, on those days.*

III.

The price to Subscribers (exclusive of postage) *will be* THREE DOLLARS *pr. annum.*

IV.

The first semi-annual payment to be made in three months *from the appearance of the first number.*

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Will be received in all the capital towns upon the Continent; also at the City-Coffee-House, *and at* No. 86, William-Street, *until the 1st of* May, *from which time at* No. 9, Maiden-Lane, *near the* Oswego-Market, New-York.

N. B. By a new Arrangement made in the Stages, Subscribers at a distance will be duly furnished with papers.

POSTSCRIPT.—*A large impression of every number will be struck off—so that Subscribers may always be accommodated with complete Sets.*

To the PUBLICK.

AT this important Crisis, the ideas that fill the mind, are pregnant with Events of the greatest magnitude—to strengthen and complete the UNION of the States—to extend and protect their COMMERCE, under *equal* Treaties yet to be formed—to explore and arrange the NATIONAL FUNDS—to restore and establish the PUBLICK CREDIT—and *ALL* under the auspices of an untried System of Government, will require the ENERGIES of the Patriots and Sages of our Country—*Hence the propriety of encreasing the Mediums of Knowledge and Information.*

AMERICA, from this period, begins a new Era in her national existence—"THE WORLD IS ALL BEFORE HER"—The wisdom and folly—the misery and prosperity of the EMPIRES, STATES, and KINGDOMS, which have had their day upon the great Theatre of Time, and are now no more, suggest the most important Mementos—These, with the rapid series of Events, in which our own Country has been so deeply interested, have taught the enlightened Citizens of the United States, that FREEDOM and GOVERNMENT—LIBERTY and LAWS, are inseparable.

This Conviction has led to the adoption of the New Constitution; for however VARIOUS the Sentiments, respecting the MERITS of this System, all GOOD MEN are agreed in the necessity that exists, of an EFFICIENT FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

A paper, therefore, established upon NATIONAL, INDEPENDENT, and IMPARTIAL PRINCIPLES—which shall take up the premised Articles, upon a COMPETENT PLAN, it is presumed, will be highly interesting, and meet with publick approbation and patronage.

The Editor of this Publication is determined to leave no avenue of Information unexplored:—He solicits the assistance of Persons of leisure and abilities—which, united with his own assiduity, he flatters himself will render the Gazette of the United States not unworthy general encouragement—— and is, with due respect, the publick's humble servant,

JOHN FENNO.

New-York, April 15, 1789.

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